

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

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FM AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5191

INFO AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: GY, PINT

SUBJECT: BURNHAM'S AUGUST 13 SPEECH

SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER BURNHAM'S AUGUST 13 SPEECH TO  
THE OPENING OF THE PNC'S CONGRESS OUTLINED PROGRESS AND  
PROBLEMS AS A PARTIAL AGENDA FOR THE DELEGATES. THE ECONOMIC  
CRISIS WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH REALISTICALLY. OUTSIDE  
HELP WAS NOT FORTHCOMING AS THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE HAD  
NOT PRODUCED ANYTHING; THEREFORE GUYANA WOULD HAVE TO FIND  
ITS OWN SOLUTIONS. BECAUSE OF RISING OIL COSTS AND GUYANA'S  
HYDRO-ELECTRIC POTENTIAL, THE DEVELOPMENT OF HYDRO-POWER  
REMAINED TOP PRIORITY, BUT WOULD REQUIRE TREMENDOUS SACRIFICE.  
IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING TO FOSTER DISCIPLINE AND IMPROVED  
ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK IN A SOCIALIST ECONOMY WOULD BE  
STRENGTHENED. BEING LAZY AND UNPRODUCTIVE WAS NOT A VALID  
OPTION IN A COUNTRY LIKE GUYANA. NATIONAL UNITY AS  
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RECENTLY PROPOSED BY THE OPPOSITION, WHILE "SUPERFICIALLY  
ATTRACTIVE" WAS REJECTED. COOPERATIVE SOCIALISM WAS  
DEFENDED AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD BLAME IT FOR THE COUNTRY'S  
ECONOMIC ILLS AND ALSO AGAINST THOSE WHO INSISTED THAT  
THE HIGHEST FORM OF COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP WAS STATE  
OWNERSHIP. IN GUYANA THE COOPERATIVE WAS MORE LIKELY  
THAN ANY OTHER FORM OF ORGANIZATION TO REMOVE THE ALIENA-

TION OF THE WORKERS FROM HIS WORK. IN FOREIGN POLICY, GUYANA SUPPORTS THE STRUGGLES OF ALL PEOPLE TO BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT AND HAD BEEN ACTIVE IN THE UN AND NAM. IT HAD EARNED HOSTILITY AND HAD BEEN VICTIM OF DESTABILIZATION ATTEMPTS. GUYANA'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALIST BLOC WERE BECOMING CLOSER, RELATIONS WITH THE US HAD IMPROVED SIGNIFICANTLY. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION ACCEPTED GUYANA'S RIGHT TO PURSUE ITS OWN ECONOMIC COURSE. THIS SPEECH, WHILE NOT SIGNALLING NEW DIRECTIONS OR A DEVIATION FROM SOCIALISM, REJECTED THE IDEA THAT GUYANA SHOULD MOVE TOWARD MORE RIGID SOCIALIST FORMULAS. END SUMMARY.

1. IN TWO HOUR ADDRESS ON AUGUST 13 TO THE SECOND BIENNIAL CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL CONGRESS (PNC), PRIME MINISTER FORBES BURNHAM OUTLINED THE PNC'S AND GUYANA'S INTERNAL AND FOREIGN POLICIES AND PROBLEMS. (COPY OF SPEECH AS DELIVERED WAS POUCHED TO ARA/CAR). MAJOR POINTS ARE SUMMARIZED BELOW.

2. ECONOMY. HE CONTRASTED CRISIS SITUATION OF GUYANA'S ECONOMY IN 1977 WITH SITUATION OF 1975 AND DESCRIBED REASONS FOR PRESENT CRISIS, EMPHASIZING EXTERNAL CAUSES. AS NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE TO DATE HAD BEEN "EXERCISE IN FUTILITY," GUYANA WOULD HAVE TO FACE REALITIES, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL. AGITATION AND EMPTY RHETORIC WOULD NOT BRING SOLUTIONS. GUYANA WOULD HAVE TO PLAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EXPLOITATION OF RESOURCES AND SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS.

3. HYDRO ENERGY POTENTIAL. CITING STUDIES THAT OIL PRICES WOULD INCREASE AT A RATE OF 15 PERCENT ANNUALLY IN THE 1980'S, BURNHAM SAID GUYANA WOULD HAVE TO DEVELOP HYDRO POWER TO SURVIVE. HE SAID A CONSERVATIVE ESTIMATE OF GUYANA'S HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER POTENTIAL IS ABOUT 14 MILLION KILOWATTS OR THE EQUIVALENT OF APPROXIMATELY 650,000 BARRELS OF OIL PER DAY. A HYDROELECTRIC PLANT WOULD MAKE FEASIBLE A 2,000 TON ALUMINUM SMELTER, PLUS PULP PAPER, FERTILIZER, AND STEEL INDUSTRIES. HYDRO DEVELOPMENT, THEREFORE, WAS A TOP PRIORITY. GUYANA, USING ITS DOMESTIC SAVINGS, WOULD ALSO SEEK TO RAISE CAPITAL FOR THE PROJECT WHEREVER IT COULD. THIS WAS A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH.

4. IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING. BURNHAM UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE COURSES IN LEADERSHIP AND IDEOLOGY BEING GIVEN AT THE CUFFY IDEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE. MEMBERS OF THE PNC MUST HAVE MORE THAN AN EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT TO A PARTY OR A LEADER. THEIR MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVITIES MUST BE BASED UPON KNOWLEDGE AND TRAINING. OTHERWISE,

SOCIALISM COULD NOT BE BUILT.

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5. PRODUCTION. AFTER OUTLINING AVAILABLE RESOURCES AND COMPLETED PROJECTS, BURNHAM SAID ONE OF GUYANA'S GREATEST WEAKNESSES WAS ITS LOW LEVEL OF PRODUCTION AND PRODUCTIVITY. TOO MANY WORKERS DID NOT PRODUCE TO THE OPTIMUM. THESE ATTITUDES WERE INHERITED FROM COLONIALISM, BUT TODAY UNDER SOCIALISM, WHEN SURPLUSES WERE GENERATED FOR THE NATION AS A WHOLE FOR THINGS LIKE FREE EDUCATION AND MEDICAL SERVICES, FOR REINVESTMENT, THE ATTITUDES SHOULD CHANGE. SOCIALISM WAS NOT SYNONYMOUS WITH INDISCIPLINE AS SOME PEOPLE SEEMED TO THINK. BEING LAZY AND LACKING COMMITMENT WERE ANTI-NATIONALIST BEHAVIOR AND IN EFFECT AS SUBVERSIVE AS ENEMY AGENTS. GUYANESE MUST PRODUCE MORE IF GUYANA IS TO SURVIVE AND PARTY MEMBERS SHOULD SET AN EXAMPLE IN PRODUCTION. SOME PARTY MEMBERS WHOM HE HAD MET DURING HIS "MEET THE PEOPLE TOURS," HE SAID, WERE A DISGRACE AND AN EMBARRASSMENT. A CLEANSING

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OPERATION WAS DEMANDED.

6. NATIONAL UNITY. A SECTION OF BURNHAM'S SPEECH WAS OBVIOUSLY DEVOTED TO THE CALL BY OPPOSITION LEADER CHEEDDI JAGAN EARLIER IN THE WEEK FOR A NATIONAL FRONT GOVERNMENT. BURNHAM REJECTED ANY SUGGESTION THAT AN UNDERSTANDING OR COALITION WITH THE OPPOSITION PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY (PPP) COULD WORK. THE PNC AS THE VANGUARD SOCIALIST PARTY WOULD HAVE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL UNITY AND LEAD THE REVOLUTION. HE REJECTED THE SUGGESTIONS OF "WELL-MEANING ADVISORS" (E.I. THE SOVIET UNION) WHO BELIEVED THE IDEAL WAY TO CREATE NATIONAL UNITY WAS TO HAVE A COALITION BETWEEN LEADERS AND UNDER THEM A DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICES AND PATRONAGE. INSTEAD THERE MUST BE A WELL-PLANNED AND HONEST CAMPAIGN TO WIN OVER THOSE WHO SUPPORT OTHER PARTIES. EVERY PERSON SHOULD BE THE OBJECT OF UNDERSTANDING, TOLERANCE, AND PERSUASION. PNC MEMBERS SHOULD NOT BE SUSPICIOUS OF NEW MEMBERS. HE SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME JUSTIFYING THE NEED TO ATTRACT SUPPORT FROM OTHER GROUPS IN SOCIETY AND PRAISED THE THREE LEADING SOCIALISTS OF THE PPP WHO HAD JOINED THE PNC.

7. BURNHAM DEFENDED COOPERATIVE SOCIALISM AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD BLAME IT FOR THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY. THE GROUPS ON THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT OF THE PNC, HE SAID, HAD NO ORIGINAL OR COHERENT PROGRAM. THEIR GOAL WAS SIMPLY TO GET THE PNC OUT OF OFFICE.

8. SOCIALISM AND THE COOPERATIVE. BURNHAM DESCRIBED THE STEPS THAT GUYANA HAD BEEN TAKING TO DEVELOP ITS BRAND OF SOCIALISM AND JUSTIFIED THE COMMITMENT TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE COOPERATIVE AS THE MECHANISM FOR MAKING "THE LITTLE MAN A REAL MAN." HE WENT ON AT SOME LENGTH TO SHOW THAT COOPERATIVISM AND SOCIALISM WERE NOT CONTRADICTIONARY. IN CONTRAST TO THOSE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES THAT MAINTAIN THAT THE HIGHEST FORM OF COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP IS STATE OWNERSHIP, BURNHAM STATED THAT GUYANA'S POSITION WAS THAT A WELL-ORGANIZED COOPERATIVE IS MORE LIKELY THAN ANY OTHER FORM OF ORGANIZATION TO REMOVE THE ALIENATION REFERRED TO BY MARX. HE STRESSED THAT THE PNC WAS NOT A DOGMATIC PARTY.

9. CENTRAL PLANNING. CENTRAL PLANNING, SAID BURNHAM, WAS NECESSARY TO INSURE THE OPTIMUM USE OF RESOURCES FOR

THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE, AND WAS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE COOPERATIVE STRUCTURE WHICH COULD BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE PLANNING MACHINERY. HE ADVOCATED WORKER PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT AND EMPHASIZED THE FACT THAT THE PNC WAS CREATING AN EGALITARIAN SOCIETY.

10. HUMAN RESOURCE MOBILIZATION. BURNHAM CHARGED THAT TOO MANY GOVERNMENT WORKERS AND COOPERATIVE OFFICERS DID NOT UNDERSTAND THEIR ROLE OR THE CONCEPT OF THE COOPERATIVE. THEY NEEDED TO COMPLETE PRACTICAL COURSES AT THE KURU KURU COOPERATIVE COLLEGE AND THEORETICAL COURSES AT THE CUFFY IDEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

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11. FOREIGN RELATIONS. FOREIGN RELATIONS WERE ANOTHER ASPECT OF DOMESTIC POLICY, HE SAID, AND GUYANA TAKES POSITIONS BASED UPON CONVICTION AND EXPERIENCE. AS AN "EX-COLONY RAPED BY IMPERIALISM" GUYANA UNEQUIVOCALLY SUPPORTS STRUGGLES OF ALL PEOPLES TO BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT. FOR THAT REASON IT HAD CONTRIBUTED--SOMETIMES UNTIL IT HURT--TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT OPPOSED THE PINOCHET REGIME IN CHILE, SUPPORTED THE ANGOLANS AND THE VIETNAMESE. GUYANA

HAD SPOKEN UP IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND TAKEN AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM). GUYANA HAD CONSEQUENTLY OFTEN EARNED THE HOSTILITY OF THOSE WHOSE PERCEPTION OF THEIR INTERESTS DIFFERED FROM THOSE OF GUYANA. IT HAD BEEN A VICTIM OF DESTABILIZATION ATTEMPTS AND MARKED FOR PUNITIVE ACTION. ALTHOUGH THE GOG SEEKS TO TAKE A TRULY NON-ALIGNED POSITION IT IS NOT NEUTRAL ON CERTAIN ISSUES. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FOR EXAMPLE, THE GOG SUPPORTED REUNIFICATION OF KOREA AND PUERTO RICAN SELF-DETERMINATION. BURNHAM CLAIMED THAT FORMER US PRESIDENT TRUMAN HAD ADMITTED THAT PUERTO RICO WAS A COLONY.

12. HE EMPHASIZED THAT GUYANA POSED NO THREAT TO ANYONE. IT ADVOCATED THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND HAD SUPPORTED THE NEW STOCKHOLM APPEAL. IT HAD SPOKEN OUT AGAINST THE OLD ECONOMIC ORDER BUT OBSERVED THAT VERY LITTLE HAD BEEN ACHIEVED TO CHANGE THE LOT OF POOR NATIONS. MORE AND MORE NEWLY INDEPENDENT NATIONS WERE MOVING TO THE LEFT, AND THE PROGRESSIVE AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL GROUP WAS BEING STRENGTHENED. GUYANA'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALIST BLOC WERE BECOMING CLOSER, WHILE THOSE WITH THE UNITED STATES HAD IMPROVED SIGNIFICANTLY. HE MENTIONED THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAD PUBLICLY STATED, UNLIKE ITS PREDECESSOR, THAT IT ACCEPTS GUYANA'S RIGHTS TO PURSUE ITS OWN ECONOMIC STRATEGY. HE RECOGNIZED THAT CARICOM WAS FACING DIFFICULTIES, AND CALLED FOR A SUMMIT MEETING TO SOLVE PROBLEMS.

13. IN CONCLUDING, BURNHAM SAID THE PNC HAD DONE WELL TO KEEP THE ECONOMY AND THE SOCIETY INTACT DURING THE RECENT PERIOD. THE ENEMY, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN, HAD BEEN KEPT AT BAY, BUT THE PARTY SHOULD NOT BECOME COMPLAISANT. REFERRING TO THE LARGE MULTI-NATIONAL FIRMS, HE SAID THE GOG HAD TAKEN OVER THE GIANTS AND WAS PROCEEDING TO DEMOCRATIZE THEM. GUYANESE EXPERIMENTS MIGHT WELL CONTRIBUTE TO INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST THOUGHT. ALONE IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN, GUYANA HAD MADE EDUCATION FREE FROM THE NURSERY TO THE UNIVERSITY. WOMEN HAD BEEN GIVEN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THEIR PROPER PLACE IN THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY. GUYANA'S

SOCIALIST THRUST COULD NOT BE QUESTIONED. BUT DYNAMISM WAS REQUIRED FOR THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE. COMMITTED, DEDICATED, AND INCORRUPTIBLE MEN WERE NEEDED. PRODUCERS, NOT DEMAGOGUES WERE REQUIRED. HE EXHORTED THE CONGRESS TO PRODUCE THE RIGHT DECISIONS AND ATTITUDES TO SET THE COURSE FOR THE PARTY.

14. COMMENT: THIS SPEECH SIGNED NO NEW DIRECTIONS OR CHANGES OF EMPHASIS IN GUYANA'S POLICIES--INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL. BURNHAM, WHILE URGING HIS COMPATRIOTS TO ESCHEW "EMPTY RHETORIC" INDULGED IN IT HIMSELF. HIS MESSAGE TO THE DELEGATES AND THE GUYANESE PEOPLE WAS THAT TO ESCAPE FROM CURRENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND AVOID PERISHING AS A NATION IN THE 1980'S, GUYANESE WOULD HAVE TO DISCIPLINE THEMSELVES, MAKE SACRIFICES IN CONSUMER GOODS, PRODUCE MORE AND DEVELOP HYDRO-POWER. THE EXTENSIVE DEFENSE OF COOPERATIVE SOCIALISM AND THE CONCEPT THAT SOCIALISM MUST BE ADAPTED TO LOCAL CONDITIONS WAS AIMED AT JAGAN AND THE SOVIETS PARTICULARLY. HIS COMMENT IN REASSERTING GUYANA'S NON-ALIGNMENT APPEARED TO PUT AN EASTWARD TILT ON HIS POSTURE. HIS ONLY REFERENCES TO THE US WERE THAT RELATIONS WITH THE US HAD "IMPROVED SIGNIFICANTLY" AND THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAD ACCEPTED GUYANA'S INDEPENDENT "ECONOMIC STRATEGY." ADDITIONAL ANALYSIS OF SPEECH WILL ACCOMPANY EMBASSY'S WRAPUP ON THE CONGRESS.

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